1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-giguran.

Itadua, en-giguran oo-'n-gera oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'soito eiturur araki 'n-dulele[1], neiguranye áitaa 'n-glahu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ájijik oo-'n-gulughok áitaa 'ng-afigita, neitayu sii e-sere áitaa em-bere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-figanaiyok o-'l-darpoi, nêjo 'n-gera.

Ore 'l-ayok bôtoro, nemira ti-atwa 'n-glabu. Neiñgoru en-giteñg nabor, neitaa eng-aji. Neitashe ol-ayôni ôbo aboitare en-giteñg, nepwo 'l-kulikae áisudori. Ore ten epwônu 'l-kulikae, nemir lido ôboitare en-giteñg. Ore ol-ômiri neibuñgi, nêji etaara 'l-mañgati áitanyanyukye; o ol-ôêuo akordu en-giteñg aisêye, netôpua illo. Nêji inna-kiguran Sambwen.

Eata sii 'l-móruak en-giguran enye e-'n-jata naata 'n-gumot kumok neitamanaa 'soito coji 'n-doto. Nêji inna-kiguran en-gesbei.

Neiguran sii 'l-muran inna-kiguran, kake mme naleñg. Meata en-jata, eitobir 'n-gumot te-'n-gop aka.

O-sôtwa.

Ten eiyôu 'l-Maasae neitayu o-sôtwa oo 'l-kulikae, aa 'l-mañgati aa 'l-cahon ootaarata, neibuñg il-muran il-móruak

[1] *Solanum* sp.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the sausage-tree[1].

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a hut. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-doto. This game is called en-gesbei.

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two im-

[1] *Kigelia africana*, Bth.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

O-singólio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aI.	The children's song for rain.
Ore ten eany eng-ai esha, serany in-gera, ntjo:	When there is no rain the children sing as follows:
AI, tasha!	*Solo.* Rain, fall!
Maagor e-iwuate,	*Chorus.* That the hide does not choke me,
Ol-chóni muuana	The old skin
Oiyaki 'n-guruon.	Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singólióitin le-'n-jore. Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyóu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, nelígus nepwo ol-oiboni. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu tjo: 'Enyer eng-AI.' Nelaillili ai 'Iguróyok eibulígita eng-eti e-kulle.

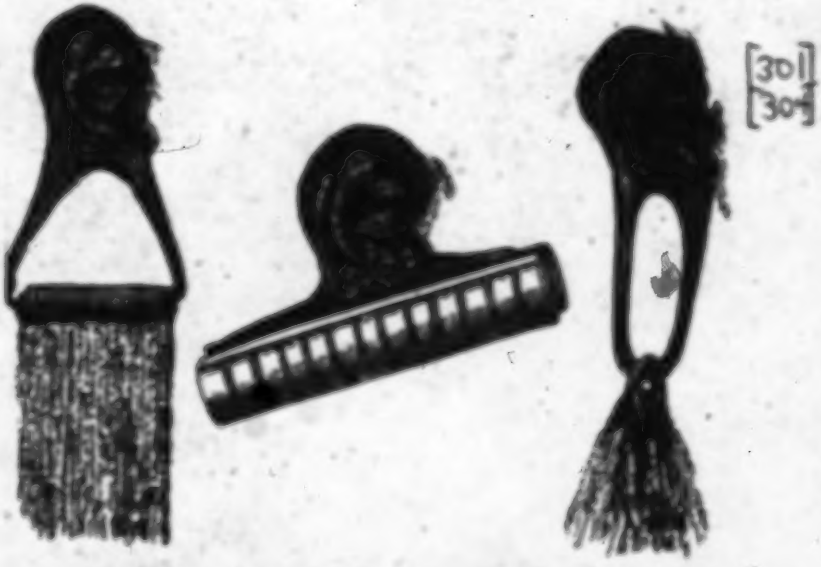
When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-maligati, ten epwóou 'l-maligati taarare, ntun il-muran 'l-aleme, neitasho te-'ane-wiji netii 'l-aleme lenye, ntjo: 'Nanu ol-

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which belongs to him in common with the whole of his race. The gums being tender, and the beef tough and leathery, the teeth acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold, and, what was still worse, they seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs. It was noticeable also that his gums were of a very dark blue colour. Neither of these characteristics, however, were any disad-



HIS OVERCOATS AND HIS ORNAMENTS.

vantage to the young Masai, as in his country to be hideous is to be beautiful.

As a boy Mawa—for such we may call him for convenience' sake—was pleasing in the extreme—when his mouth was shut. He was the very ideal of an imp, and for diabolical versatility would doubtless have made an admirable page, such as were so much in vogue in former times. At a very early age Mawa broke away from his mother's apron-strings, and with miniature bow and arrow aped the bigger boys in their play. As he had no lions to kill, he only roused his mother's laughter if he turned up encrusted with filth. He

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12

was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder, leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versâ* in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion. He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngăi (God, or the heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngăi was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of Donyo Ngăi (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage.

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage.

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already

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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, [292] the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aetiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing sand between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/54 cont./

857 524 together. They build a small hut about a foot high in the customary shape, and, since they themselves cannot get into it, they place a few little stones in the doorway as their children. A pile of the aforementioned Solanum fruits represents their stock of cattle and donkeys, and another one of small stones signifies their herd of goats and sheep. Small pieces of wood represent the calabashes and other household equipment. The boy now drives the livestock to pasture, while his little wife cooks the food. Then he returns /55/ home and the two eat together. Meanwhile they decide that the pasture is no longer good and they must move on. But the Solanum "donkeys" are unable to carry the things, so they quickly tie a bast string to a piece of dry cow dung and thus make a sledge. Then everything is piled on it and the journey starts. In a few minutes the sledge is broken and the game is over. If several boys are together, they like to play war. They divide up into two, three, or four parties of equal strength, and each builds its kraal out of twigs, in which the livestock, as previously described, finds its place. Then the parties make surprise attacks on one another, the one steals the livestock of the other, the latter pursues the victor in order to recover the booty from it, and so on, until a few blows falling too roughly end the game, and it degenerates into a little row. Small boys often go out hunting with sharpened sticks and small bows and arrows for lizards, rats, and similar animals. They are then very proud over a success, and dance, sing, and boast, as they see this done by the warriors when they come back from an expedition. In the last two or three years before circumcision a fight for a piece of meat set out as a reward for the winners represents the favorite game of the boys. Two opposing parties fight over it, armed with sticks.

857 526

145 Puberty sets in at about the age of 12.

[Warrior Kraal]

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701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk.

701 262 264 [273] [276] Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen.

701 262 264 574 For these forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

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233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, [231] [178] which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock [262] [272] blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large [411] [415] vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol ŋoret), from which projects a seale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding.

231 262 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 9.

Young Masai herd boys at a water hole on the floor of the Rift Valley in Tanganyika. Mt. Lengai, East Africa's only active volcano, is in the background. The view is north with the western wall of the Rift out of the picture to the left.

●●● for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

• 857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9). Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[See p. 53.--Analyst]

701 [826] [252] the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden [857] grill above the fire. Youngish children usually 701 562 accompanied the moran. Gower (1948:79) notes that in Tanganyika Masailand:

> At an olpul a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a boma.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a) 562 and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women [843] apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to bomas, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

#233 head. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

#233 554 Numbers of Animals: The emphasis of the Masai is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock. [857] Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

#178 #233 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

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Masai youths and young Moran may spear any passing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Masai. A Masai driving some livestock, even one cow, is apparently virtually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Masai drive a lone cow through a herd of 335 wildebeests and 115 zebras. The herd eddied about him at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. We often saw wild animals grazing in close proximity to Masai livestock and herders. A lone Masai with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

• 857 Masai boys play a game "marking" wild animals. They try to catch young of various species and notch the ears in the same manner as they mark their cattle. Later, when observing the same marked animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with notched ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Masai said that it was his wildebeest as he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

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825 As noted above Masai try to avoid wildebeests